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June 29, 1953

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MEMORANDUM FOR:

Central Intelligence Agency

SUBJECT:

Variations in the Present Doctrinal Draft from D-33/2 Draft

- 1. In accordance with your request, I am forwarding to you an original and courtesy copy of the significant differences between the present draft and the previously circulated draft. Fundamentally I believe that the Doctrinal Program is basically the same under both drafts and that no operational difference exists between them.
 - 2. Changes in the Doctrinal Program:
 - a. Summary Statement of the Problem was deleted.
- b. Psychological Objectives (paragraph 1). The terms short, medium and long-range have been taken out. The long-range objective mentioned in the original draft has been eliminated because it was presumed to exist in the other two objectives. What was medium-range activities (1(b)) in the original draft) has now been moved to (a) and the former short-range activities have been moved to (b) in this new draft.
- graph to guarantee that this program would not attempt to develop or force one American doctrine was desired by the Department of State. The original paragraph (a) becomes paragraph (b) but with all references to any proposals eliminated. Original paragraph (b) is the same as (c). The original paragraph (c) has been eliminated because it raises the question of money.
- d. 3. Summary Basic Tasks (4 in the original). Paragraph (a) has been reworded without changing the substance. Paragraph (c), the tasks of the Department of State, has been completely rewritten but without major change of substance. In fact, State added one new paragraph, (3(c)(1)(a)(4) which is a major contribution. Paragraphs (d), (e) and (f) remain as in the original draft.
- e. 4. General Guidance (5 in the original). Paragraph (b) has been eliminated lest the impression be given that there is some reference to this whole program. The original paragraphs (c) and (d) therefore become (b) and (c). In the third or last sentence of (c),

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the introductory clause, "Usefulness in furthering the aims of this program" replaces the clause in the original draft, "Acceptability to Western philosophy of life".

- 5. Administrative Provisions. (6 in the original draft) A second paragraph has been added to (a) dealing with coordination of the program. The two proposals which had accompanied the original draft of this program: Proposal I, to establish a doctrinal institute to produce the desired analysis of doctrinol materials, and Proposal II, to establish a distribution mechanism for greater commercial sale of American books abroad, were causing unsurmountable difficulties. This new paragraph provides that these general ideas will be further examined and studied in the initial coordination of this program. All references to the original proposals and to the former idea of a doctrinal institute have been eliminated from the Program and the annexes. The problem of requiring consistent and continuous production of doctrinal material is mentioned in the annex, but without tie-in with any proposed solution. This second paragraph under Coordination in the Administrative Provisions counits nobody to anything except further study and consideration as to how doctrinal production can most effectively be pushed. The evaluation of the Doctrinal Program remains as it was written in the original annex.
- 3. The ennexes in the original draft were: Annex "A" and Annex "B", and Proposals I and II. The proposals have been eliminated. Annex "B", which is CIA's particular problem, has in accordance with Mr. Dulles' memorandum of approval added the word "abroad." The original Annex "A" has been divided into two annexes: "A", containing abbreviated definitions (which are expected to be approved as an integral part of the Program), and Annex "C", which is an expurgated "Analysis of the Problem."
- a. The new Annex "C" is a rewrite of the original Annex "A" minus the definitions. This new ennex supposedly eliminates paragraphs in the original Annex "A" which are said to be theoretical or philosophic, particularly in the original paragraph 2 of the original Annex "A", dealing with the necessity for a U. S. Doctrinal Program. The present paragraphs dealing with the necessity for a U. S. Doctrinal Program do not raise the theoretical issue of the relationship of ideas to action.
- b. The Summary of National Policy is practically the same in both annexes.
- c. Communist Use of Dostrinal Warfare. In the new Annex "C" the previous position of international intellectuals towards Communism through Marxian teachings has been eliminated.
- d. Paragraph (g) in the original draft, dealing with the differences between American and Soviet books, has also been eliminated from this section, and paragraph (h) on "study groups" has been greatly shortened.

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- e. Existing U. S. Destrinal Program. This section is basically the same as in the original draft with the exception that criticisms of State's current information program have been moderated.
- f. Feasibility of Increased Doctrinal Program. The previous emphasis on the superiority of the American position in the doctrinal field has been modified through a rewording which tends to emphasize that we can counter the Soviet doctrine, and we should do more in pushing the understanding of the American views.
- sale, particularly to Proposal I (the doctrinal institute) in (b) of this section has been modified. The original proposal stated "there is need for a machinery." The present draft states "there is need for the production..." of doctrinal materials. Reference to Proposal II has also been aliminated.
- h. Possible Enemy Reactions. This section has been completely eliminated in the new draft.
- These are all of the major differences between the present draft and the original draft. Fundamentally, I believe that there are only two substantial differences which are both included in the present draft of the Program. The first is the new paragraph added by State to Basic Principles (2)(a) in the present draft) that the Program is not an attempt to develop any single American doctrine. The second substantial change is the elimination of Proposals I and II, the mechanisms for accomplishing the doctrinal proposal and their indirect inclusion in the new paragraph under Coordination, (5(a)(2)) which insures that these ideas will be further studied and explored in the coordination of this Program. State's additional paragraph was implicitly part of the panel's approach to the problem, and is new only in the sense that it explicitly includes what has been implicitly accepted. The elimination of the proposals may possibly weaken the immediate implementation of the Doctrinal Program, but in view of State's worry and your agency's concern with institutes, etc., it is probably a more sensible procedure to provide for further study of these problems rather than trying to obtain their approval at this time.
- 5. I have considered practically all of these changes as mere resordings to satisfy semantic idiosyncrasies. The new draft is fundamentally the same as the original draft, and I would hope that you will find no trouble in securing your agency's approval of this rewrite.

